THE REMONSTRANCE
AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

BOSTON, OCTOBER, 1917

The Remonstrance is published quarterly by the Women's Anti-Suffrage Association of Massachusetts. It expresses the views of women in Massachusetts, Maine, Rhode Island, New York, Nebraska, Iowa, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Connecticut, Maryland, New Hampshire, Vermont, New Jersey, South Dakota, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Ohio, Virginia and other states.

Any one who desires to receive the quarterly numbers for one year can do so by enclosing 25 cents in stamps to the Treasurer,

MRS. JAMES M. CODMAN,
Walnut St., Brookline.

Information in regard to The Remonstrance and other Publications of the Association may be obtained from the Secretary, Room 615, Kensington Building, Boston.

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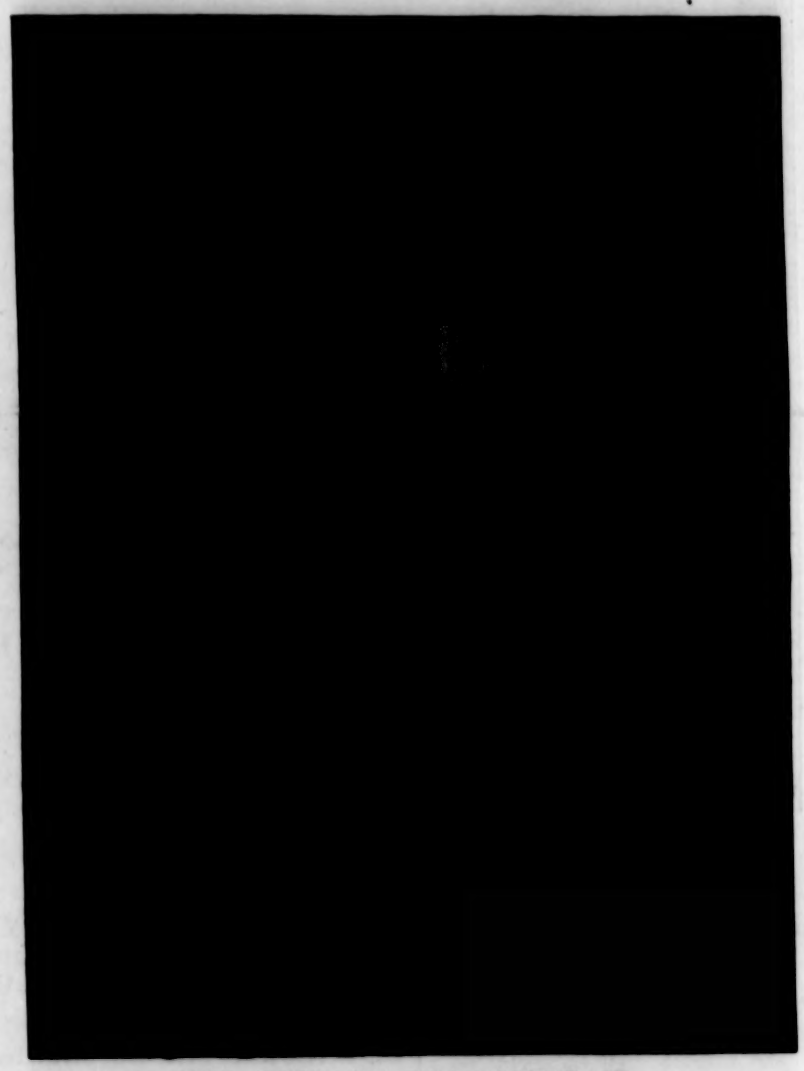


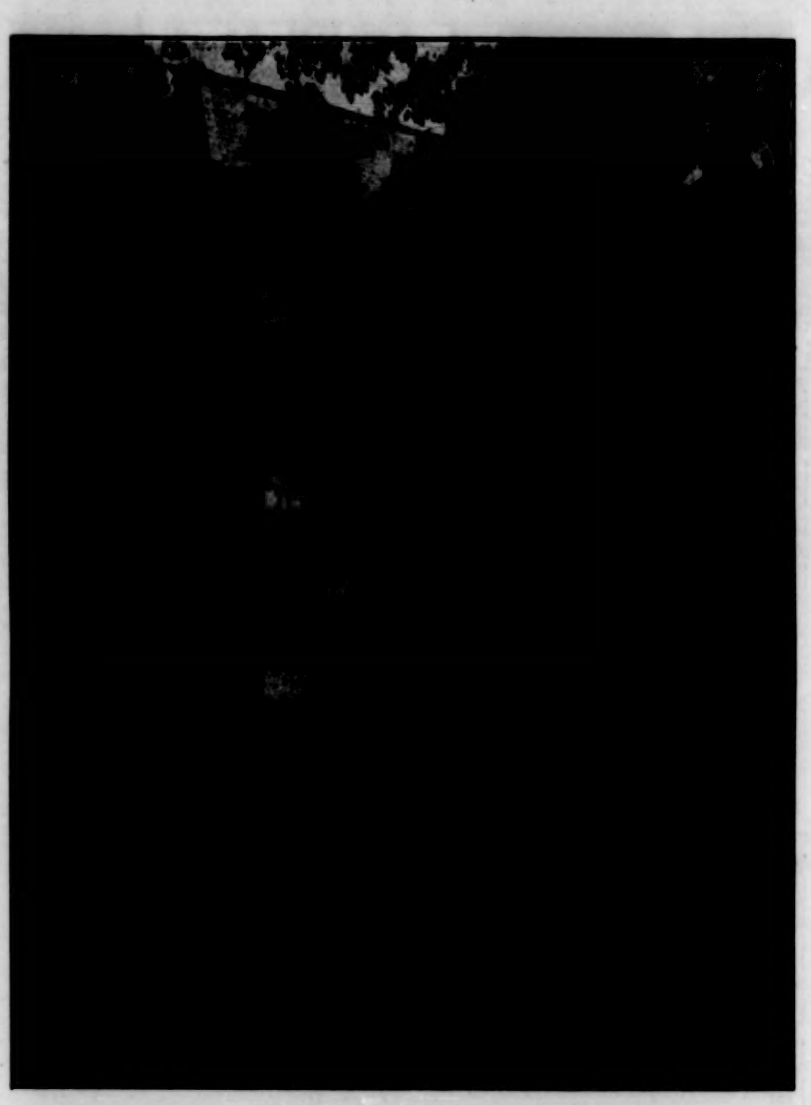
MRS. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR.
President National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

THE NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS AND PRESIDENT

SINCE the organization of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, in 1912, down to last July, the headquarters of the Association has been in New York City and Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, the founder of the Association, has been its President, being unanimously reelected from year to year.

At the Annual Convention of the Association in Washington last December, steps were taken looking to the transfer of the headquarters to the national Capitol, and in July, the change was effected. Mrs. Dodge, whose long and faithful service as President was warmly appreciated, resigned the office, in order that a Washington woman might succeed her; and Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, Jr., wife of the senior Senator from the state of New York, was elected President.

Mrs. Wadsworth, formerly Miss Alice Hay, is a daughter of the late John Hay, one of the foremost American statesmen, whose brilliant career as poet, editor, author, statesman and diplomat, as private secretary to President Lincoln, as Secretary of State, as Ambassador to Great Britain, and as biographer of Lincoln gave him world-wide recognition. Mrs. Wadsworth's husband was for



NEW HOME OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

six years a member, and for five years Speaker, of the Assembly of New York, and was elected United States Senator in November, 1914.

The following extract from Mrs. Wadsworth's letter of acceptance indicates the spirit in which she assumes the duties of her new office:

" Although most reluctant to shoulder any additional burden outside the care of my family, the War Relief work and the charities in which I am already engaged, I feel that it is my duty, *in the interest of Patriotism and National Defense* to accept this office and to do my utmost to justify your confidence. I feel deeply the honor and responsibility you have conferred on me by this choice, and am profoundly impressed with the importance of our endeavor.

Red Cross work and War Relief work are cruel and pressing necessities and should not be slighted for any other consideration, but, God willing, their importance and need will only last through a few years, through the war and the period of reconstruction, whereas the question of suffrage is to affect the life and government of our Nation until the very end of our existence."

The Headquarters of the National Association is now at 1621 K Street, Washington, D. C. The house is in charge of Miss Minnie Bronson, General Secretary, and all members of the organization who visit Washington are cordially invited to call.

THE SUFFRAGE ROUT IN MAINE

On the eve of the special election in Maine on the 10th of September, the chairman of the state suffrage committee expressed serene confidence in a " glorious victory for womanhood " on the morrow. The " glorious victory " came, but it was a victory for the real womanhood of the State, not for the small minority of women who had forced this issue upon the voters.

The Maine suffragists had every advantage in the campaign which they could have asked for. The Legislature, by a large majority, had voted to submit the amendment. Both political parties had endorsed it. The Governor of the State had thrown himself actively into the campaign. The vote was to be taken at a special election, when the total vote was certain to be light — and it has always been on light votes and by narrow margins that suffrage victories have been won. Yet the amendment was defeated by a nearly two to one majority; and in Maine, as in Massachusetts two years ago, not only the larger towns and cities, but the little towns, as a rule, voted against it.

The suffragists have been loudly claiming that their cause is rapidly gaining ground. But, so far as public sentiment is concerned, this is not the case. True, the suffragists have been able to make some headway with politicians. They have beguiled some Legislatures into voting for partial-suffrage bills which did not require the sanction of the voters. But in no state have women been given full suffrage this year, or last year or the year preceding. During the last three years, suffrage amendments have been defeated at the polls in North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Missouri, Ohio, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Iowa and West Virginia, and now in Maine. *Every state east of the Mississippi in which the proposal to give the ballot to women has been submitted to the voters has defeated it by an overwhelming majority.*

How far the riotous and treasonable demonstrations of the suffrage picketers at the White House have influenced the result in Maine it would be difficult to determine. It is probable that the majority against the suffrage amendment would have been large any way, but that the picketers made it larger. The American Pankhursts have even less judgment and less patriotism than the

English. When the European war began, in August, 1914, Mrs. Pankhurst called off the militants who had been burning churches and schools and dwellings, raiding picture galleries, and placing bombs, and declared a truce in suffragette warfare. But the American Pankhursts have decided that the most serious crisis in this nation's history is "the time of times to smash through" their programme.

What patriotic Americans think of this conduct the returns from Maine suggest. The vote in New York next month will convey a like condemnation.

THE ADVISORY COUNCIL

The work of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage will be greatly assisted by the Advisory Council, which is composed of the following distinguished and experienced men. The Association is grateful for their aid, and will have confidence in their judgment.

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Hon. Henry Gray.
Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge.
Hon. George W. Wickersham.
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THE SENATE COMMITTEE AND SUFFRAGE

The significant thing about the favorable report of the Senate Suffrage Committee on the Federal Suffrage Amendment is not that it was made, but that it was so long held up. All of the nine members of the Committee are avowed suffragists, and it was because they were suffragists that they were appointed. So long ago as the 15th of May the Committee authorized its chairman to report favorably the amendment resolution. Yet it was not until the 13th of September that the report was made.

The reason for this delay was explained in the Senate on the 2d of August by two suffrage members of the Committee. Senator Hollis of New Hampshire stated that the Committee was about to submit a report in favor of the suffrage resolution when its action was checked by the demonstrations of the picketers. "This is the trouble, and it might as well be stated now," he said. "There is a small but very active group of suffragists who have acted in such a way that some of us who are ardently in favor of woman suffrage believe their actions should not be encouraged by making a favorable report at this time. Now, I am one of these." Senator Nelson of Minnesota spoke with equal frankness, saying:

"As to the women who were obnoxious in picketing in front of the White House, I thought it was a good plan to wait until they had abstained from picketing, and showed their fitness and worthiness for woman suffrage. I do not think any woman who will go to the front of the White House and parade as those women have done is fit for suffrage."

IN MASSACHUSETTS

The emphatic vote of nine to six by which the Committee on Woman Suffrage in the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention refused to recommend the submission of a woman suffrage amendment clearly foreshadows like action in the Convention itself.

It is a wise conservatism which refuses to force upon the State another suffrage campaign, only two years after suffrage was defeated at the polls by an overwhelming majority. The voters of Massachusetts had an ample opportunity in 1915, after a protracted and strenuous campaign, to make up their minds upon this question; and when they rejected the proposal by a nearly two to one majority, they expected that the question would be allowed to stay settled for many years to come. There is certainly no excuse for reopening it when the nation has entered on the greatest war in history, and there is need of the concentration of all men and women upon war activities.

PANKHURST PATRIOTISM

(From the London Chronicle, August 10, 1917)

PASSERS-BY were angered last evening when Miss Sylvia Pankhurst and several of her followers paraded outside the House of Commons hawking copies of the "Workers' Dreadnought."

Instead of contents boards they carried bannerettes inscribed "War is Murder," "Give us Back our Brothers," "Give us Back our Sons," "The Men in the Trenches Long for Peace," and "Stop this Capitalist War." A middle-aged man seized one of the banners, and was immediately pounced on by three or four of the processionists, one of whom appeared to be about 14 years of age. "Coward," they yelled in chorus.

"I've four sons in the trenches," the man retorted, "and I'm going to tear the thing up." In the middle of the struggle, which the police witnessed, but did not attempt to stop, Mr. Ben Tillett arrived and, taking the wrathful arguer by the arm, led him away.

Some Canadian soldiers were moved to forcible language by the "Soldiers in the Trenches Long for Peace" legend, and shouted "It's a lie," while another, addressing a policeman, asked if it were not possible to stop such a disgraceful display. "I've come nearly 4,000 miles to fight for this country," said the man, with heat, "and here, outside the Houses of Parliament, I find this sort of thing going on."

"Take that beastly thing away," said an officer with medal ribbons, "Take it to Germany. It's the German soldiers who long for peace, not ours."

A SET-BACK IN INDIANA

THE partial suffrage bill, enacted by the Indiana Legislature, proposed to give women presidential and statutory suffrage, and the right to vote for delegates to the proposed constitutional convention and also upon the adoption of the constitution which might be framed.

A special election for the choice of delegates was to be held September 18, and the Indiana suffragists were rejoicing in the prospect of so early a chance to use the ballot, when a rude awakening came in the form of an adverse decision of the Superior Court. Judge Thornton of that court, on proceedings to test the validity of the Act passed by the Legislature, ruled on the 25th of June, that the Legislature did not exceed its authority when it provided for electing delegates and holding the convention; but that it acted without authority when it gave women the right to vote for delegates, and upon the new constitution.

A few days later, the State Supreme Court ruled that delegates could not be elected, nor the convention held until after the people had a chance to vote upon the question of holding it. So "votes for women" upon these two important matters are postponed. Incidentally, the prospect of weakening the existing restrictions upon constitutional amendment through a convention, upon which the suffragists had counted, becomes remote.

The decision of the court upon the remainder of the suffrage bill remains to be given. As was pointed out in the July REMONSTRANCE, the Constitution of Indiana expressly provides:

"In all elections not otherwise provided for in this constitution, *every male citizen of the United States* . . . shall be entitled to vote in the township or precinct where he may reside."

That seems sufficiently plain. When the framers of the Indiana Constitution wrote the words "male citizen" into that instrument, it is fair to conclude that they meant "male citizen." The word "male" was not inserted by accident. It has governed all elections in that state from that date to the present time. The idea that a single Legislature, without reference to the people, can practically wipe it out of the Constitution, is a revolutionary one. Miss Blackwell is of the opinion that the ultimate decision of the courts "will probably depend on whether the majority of the Justices of the Indiana Supreme Court are broad-minded or reactionary." It may pain Judge Thornton to have Miss Blackwell regard him as "reactionary," but it is probable that he will have the consolation of finding other Indiana judges placed in the same category.

On the 17th of September, Judge Rochford of the Superior Court ruled that the entire bill was unconstitutional, and issued a permanent restraining order to prevent its enforcement. If this ruling is sustained by the Supreme Court, as seems probable, the so-called "nine-tenths" suffrage law will be reduced to zero.

LAWLESSNESS seems to have become a habit with Mrs. Pankhurst. An Associated Press despatch from Melbourne, dated August 16, announced that Mrs. Pankhurst, while attempting to make a speech at Adelaide, fought the police and was arrested. Yet Australia is a colony in which women have "equal rights." Mrs. Pankhurst, apparently, was fighting for the superior right of violating laws regarding public assemblages which men are compelled to obey.

IN a letter in the Boston Journal of August 20, Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, chairman of the Department of Editorial Correspondence of the National Woman Suffrage Association, states that over 600 editorials have come into the suffrage headquarters denouncing the conduct of the suffrage picketers at Washington. But Mrs. Harper's own indignation seems to be reserved chiefly for the Government clerks, soldiers and sailors whose resentment against the picketers has found violent expression. These, she says, "are evidently in sympathy with the Anti-Suffrage Association." If they are, they have become so by reason of the suffragette demonstrations.

MAINE IS "ANTI"

(Editorial in the Boston Herald Sept. 12)

BEFORE Monday's special election, shrewd observers were as sure that suffrage would be overwhelmingly defeated there as they were confident a few years ago that it would win a victory at the first test there. All sorts of local explanations are being made — ranging from Miss Rankin and the White House picketers to tactless blunders of suffrage workers and certain injudicious and even intemperate newspaper support — but the simple truth of it is that Maine voted as the men of nearly every state have voted which has faced this issue at the polls in the past four years, such as Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, West Virginia, Ohio, Nebraska, both Dakotas, and other states. The only other state to vote on the issue this year is New York in November, and no doubt it will reaffirm its adverse verdict of two years ago.

SUFFRAGETTE TREASON

(Editorial in Philadelphia Press, July 24)

AN efficacious way to prolong the war is to labor cunningly to sow distrust between America and her allies, and to encourage Germany to persist. Certain suffragists flaunted in the face of the Russian Mission a banner containing the warning, "To the Russian Mission: President Wilson and Mr. Root are deceiving the Russian people." The Mission paid no attention, but the incident was sent by cable and wireless all over the world. Wherever it went, it said to Germany, "See, the American people are not behind their President; such incidents as these prove it; hold on a little longer." To the Russian people it said, "See, the German agents were right when they told you that America was only half-heartedly in the war, that America was a treacherous friend; back out of such an alliance as soon as you can." Wherever it went, such influence as it had was not toward the speedy ending of the war by an American victory, but toward its prolongation.

SUFFRAGE NOT YET SECURED IN ENGLAND

HAROLD OWEN, in the Sheffield Daily Telegraph, describes aptly the suffrage "drive" upon the British Parliament in the phrase "Votes for women with half the men away." That is true, and more than true, as regards the people at large; and it is very nearly true as regards the House of Commons, for, when the vote on woman suffrage was taken, 230 of the 670 members were absent, most of them "somewhere in France."

It is to be remembered that the Representation of the People Bill, in which the woman suffrage provision was incorporated, has yet to run the gauntlet of the House of Lords. That body is less likely to be stampeded to precipitate action than the House of Commons; and, although its powers were abridged by the legislation of 1911, it is still able to halt obnoxious legislation and to compel reconsideration. If the House of Lords votes against the suffrage bill, the House of Commons must pass it at three successive sessions, and there must be an interval of two years between the first vote and the last. During this interval, many things may happen. Among them may well be the election of a new Parliament, for the present Parliament reached the limitation of its constitutional existence nearly two years ago, and has been kept alive through its own action, because of war necessities. But woman suffrage is no part of war legislation, and, however important a new register may be, there is no good reason for linking woman suffrage with it. The House of Lords may well refuse to pass the bill with the suffrage section in it without a clause requiring a referendum to the people, and the British suffragists know well enough that a referendum would be fatal to their cause. There is nothing that they dread more.

No living British statesman is more respected in this country than Lord Bryce, formerly Ambassador at Washington. The Anti-Suffrage Review for July published the following letter from Lord Bryce, which was read at a meeting called to protest against the suffrage bill:

"Much to my regret, I have to be in Scotland on the 7th of June, and so cannot attend the meeting called to protest against the attempt to hurry through a change of profound Constitutional importance at a moment when the people, entirely preoccupied by the war, cannot give their attention to the subject. The only argument I have seen rests upon two mere possibilities: one, that controversies regarding women's labor may arise after the war; and the other, that if such controversies do arise, that same sense of justice and sympathy which has promoted and carried through so much legislation for the benefit of women during the last fifty years will now be found wanting. It is apparently upon these two hypotheses and for a transitory purpose that we are asked to enact in haste, without consulting the nation, a far-reaching and irrevocable change which would force upon women a political function which there is every reason to believe most of them do not desire. These are amongst the reasons which seem to me to make it our duty to insist upon this question being postponed until a time when it can be calmly and fully considered."

SUFFRAGE DEFEAT AHEAD IN NEBRASKA

MORE than ten per cent. of the voters of Nebraska having signed a petition for a referendum on the partial suffrage bill passed by the last Legislature, the bill will remain in suspense until it has been submitted to the voters at the election in 1918.

What is likely to happen to it then may be guessed from the fact that the voters of Nebraska, in 1914, defeated a full suffrage amendment by a majority of more than 10,000. They will not be more considerate to a partial suffrage bill, which was lobbied through the Legislature, in the hope of escaping all reference to the voters.

MISS BLACKWELL, in The Woman Citizen for August 4, expressed great indignation because the Post Office Department, acting under the espionage bill, had forbidden certain Socialist and labor papers to pass through the mails. These papers were excluded because they had gone to the verge of treason or beyond it in urging resistance to the draft, and in other ways were giving aid and comfort to the enemy. Miss Blackwell is herself a Socialist; but does she think it wise, in the present crisis, to emphasize the affiliation between suffrage and Socialism?

A MONTANA VIEW OF MISS RANKIN

(From the Helena, Mont., Independent)

MISS RANKIN announces through the Missoulian that she will be a candidate for the United States Senate next year on a "labor platform."

The line-up will then be:

I. W. W. Organizations
Miss Rankin
Radical Union Labor
Theoretical Mothers
Slackers and Traitors
Pacifists

VERSUS

Montana Farmers
Montana Mining Interests
Montana Lumber Industries
Montana Business
Legitimate Labor Unions
Real Mothers of Montana

Now Miss Rankin cannot disown the constituents she has chosen. She is going to come out to Montana next year as a candidate for the United States Senate. She will hope to win by attacking John D. Ryan and his many big and commendable enterprises; her campaign will be to create prejudice against the men who employ other men for wages — the mining companies, the farmers and incorporated ranches, the industrial enterprises and business institutions of whatever kind, known to people of Miss Rankin's school as the "capitalistic class." . . .

It's such an awful travesty that it seems absurd to discuss it. But if Butte has decreed the election of this girl because she votes against war and champions the cause of the I. W.W., the people of the state of Montana will answer the challenge.

WOMEN AND WAR WORK

An editorial in "Il Giornale Italiano" of New York, of the 14th of July, deals trenchantly with the attempt of the suffragists to turn war conditions to the aid of their propaganda. It says:

"The suffragists are disposed to make of the work of women in the present war another strong argument in favor of the extension of the franchise to women in the election of next November.

But against this argument, it must be observed that, if the suffragists refer to the work of women in general, they are taking credit for something which does not belong to their faction; and, if they are referring to the work of the suffragists, it has such an imprint of opportune expediency as to be not at all convincing. In the light of this last observation, it is easy to understand that last month, the Elizabeth N. J. Chapter of the American Red Cross, inspecting certain shirts which the suffragists had offered for the wounded, discovered that upon each shirt was stamped 'Votes for Women.'

The shirts were refused, very properly, but the incident serves to show that the work of the suffragists is not a spontaneous and natural expression of the social functions of which women are capable; but it is purely an expedient for utilizing conditions created by the war to gain electoral advantage.

Not pity suggested the gift of the shirts, but the desire to influence some one to vote one way rather than another."

The same article argues that, under normal conditions, the entrance of women into men's occupations is pernicious, for these reasons:

"Woman's work tends to the disadvantage of man's work. The competition of woman in the field of labor has upon the wages of men an influence more disastrously harmful than the competition of negroes, Chinese or Hindus. The enormous number of women who are working to withdraw themselves from household affairs depreciates female labor. For every woman who works — at a ridiculous wage — there is a man who cannot get himself well-paid and thus is obliged to send his wife also to work. The pay of a man and woman in the same family combined does not exceed what ought to be a fair wage for the man alone, if so many women, with their work, did not depreciate male labor, to the profit of greedy manufacturers and to the detriment of society. The work of women destroys the children."

Confirmation of the last statement is found in recent investigations by the Children's Bureau at Washington of the large infant mortality at Manchester, N. H. It was found that more than one half of the babies dead during the year were children of fathers who earned less than $650 a year, and more than one eighth were children of fathers who earned less than $450 a year. The mothers of all of these children were employed in industrial work. It was found also that, as the wages of the fathers increase, the number of mothers who work decreases, and the rate of infant mortality drops accordingly. In the group of fathers who earn $1,050 or more a year, less than one tenth of the mothers are engaged in work outside the home.

In view of these and similar facts, the entrance of large numbers of women into occupations usually employing men, so far from being evidence of women's progress, as the suffragists regard it, is a deplorable and mischievous condition. So far as the war may make it necessary, it is to be hoped that it may be temporary only. Up to the present time, the demand for women to take the places of men is hardly appreciable. It is exaggerated, for purposes of their own, by some of the newspapers. For example, an illustrated supplement, in some of the Sunday papers, of August 12, shows, in one picture, a "longshoregirl" driving an auto truck loaded with transatlantic cargo; another shows a group of half a dozen "longshoregirls," of whom it is said that they "do not seem to be utterly exhausted. They have been at work — in stogie shoes however — loading a big ship at the —— Terminal, where they are learning to operate cranes, derricks and electric winches," and a third shows a group of longshoregirls, at the same Terminal, at work upon a fishing smack. They are in overalls and caps and it is said of them that they "look hardy and fit," and that they do not shirk "the more strenuous tasks of men." Perhaps not; but the credulous reader of the papers printing these illustrations did not know that none of the "longshoregirls" pictured were actually doing the things represented. They were merely posing for the parts, and, after the photographer was through with them, they resumed their normal garb and went back to their typewriters and telephones. So far as they, at least, are concerned, it would be premature to be solicitous about their strenuous industrial life.

WHY THEY LOST IT

It is not very important, yet it is gratifying that the suffragists have at last discovered that their claim that no State which had once had woman suffrage had taken it away is unfounded. The Woman Citizen of August 4 admits that this is what happened in New Jersey, by act of Legislature, more than a century ago.

But The Woman Citizen omits to state the reasons. The right to vote was withdrawn from New Jersey women because of the improper and illegal use which they made of it. Under the first state Constitution of New Jersey, framed in 1776, and for thirty years after, women voted on the same terms as men. But, in hotly-contested elections, bands of women were brought to the voting places, just before the polls closed, to vote for certain candidates; and in 1807, in an exciting three-day election, according to Justice Elmer of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, illegal voting was carried on with great boldness, both men and women boasting that they had voted under different names several times. Because of this and similar scandals, the Legislature enacted a new law, limiting the franchise to men.

SUFFRAGE "AS A WAR MEASURE"

THE latest slogan of the suffragists is a demand for the suffrage "as a war measure."

The Woman Citizen, the organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, decorates its last page with this slogan in large type, displaying in one column the various forms of service which the country asks of women because of the war, and in the next column the statement: "Women are Asking of the Country Enfranchisement."

But are they asking enfranchisement? Not at all. Only a small minority of them are making any such demand. The suffragists themselves practically acknowledge that only a minority of the women of the country are with them; for in no State in the Union have they ever been willing to submit the question to a vote of the women. Every such proposal they have always treated as a device of the enemy.

If it were true that the women of the United States asked for the suffrage, the slogan of the suffragists would amount to this, — that there must be a sort of dicker. American women would render the various patriotic services asked of them *provided* that they were given the vote. But American women are made of different stuff. They are not bargaining, they have no idea of bargaining for a return for their services. The appeal of the country comes to all kinds of women, just as it comes to all kinds of men — the appeal of patriotism in the hour of their country's need. The men of the country — especially the young men, who have most to risk and to lose — are meeting it splendidly. By the hundred thousand, by the half million, they are giving up all in defence of humanity and liberty. In different lines of service, but with equal unselfishness and devotion, the women of the country, all kinds of women, will "do their bit."

So much for the claim of the suffragists that American women must be given the vote in payment for the patriotic services which they may render.

How about the claim that woman suffrage is "a war measure"? Will any suffragist tell us when it became that and how? How would the adoption of woman suffrage help in the prosecution of the war and hasten the peace with victory which we all desire?

Every sane person realizes that, in time of war, the prime essential is that there should be a complete concentration of the national energies upon war activities. The man who puts his private interests above the national welfare is a traitor. The man who raises divisive questions or obstructs needed legislation plays into the hands of the enemy. The one thing needed is unity, combined effort, the setting aside for a later day of all minor and disputed issues.

So far as the patriotic work of women in the war is concerned, what is the inevitable result of pressing the suffrage question at this time? Is it not to divide women who should be united? Is it not to divert to issues which may well wait until after the war energy which is sorely needed for the war? Does it not encourage the enemy by seeming to present the United States as a country enfeebled by internal divisions? American women should accept all responsibilities, all sacrifices, all patriotic activities, in time of war, simply as women — not as suffragists, or non-suffragists, or anti-suffragists. Every issue which divides them lessens their value to the country. Even the Pankhursts, in England, recognized this fact, and three years ago, declared a truce in their campaign of violence. But the American suffragists have chosen this time of all times, as one of their Massachusetts leaders has said, to "smash through" their issue. They have become more arrogant, more aggressive, more violent. This is true of both factions of the suffragists. The so-called National Woman's Party went to the verge of treason, or over it, when it chose the occasion of the visit of the Russian mission to Washington to flaunt at the White House banners declaring that President Wilson and Mr. Root were "deceiving" Russia. And Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, has gone up and down the country, declaring, in public speeches, that American women "are asked to mobilize their forces *in aid of a government which has wronged them*," and that "*they are growing rebellious*."

Suppose now, for the sake of the argument, that the suffragists were to succeed in their undertaking. Suppose that Congress were to yield to the suffragist demands, and were to give the requisite two-thirds vote in both houses for the Federal amendment, and that three-fourths of the State legislatures were to ratify it, what would be the result? Would the war efficiency of the country be increased or lessened? Would the decisions of the electorate be more wise or less wise through the participation of millions of uninformed, untrained, and, for the most part, unwilling voters? Would it not be criminal folly to force through so revolutionary a change at a time when the national existence is at stake?

These questions answer themselves. So far is it from being true that this is "the time of times" to smash through the suffrage programme, this is the time of times to avoid all disturbing and divisive issues, and to concentrate everything upon the war. So far is the suffrage proposal from being truly a "war measure" that its agitation is mischievous, and its success, if that were conceivable, would be destructive.

AT the last annual convention of the California State Federation of Women's Clubs, the California Legislature was described as "A drivelling muddle of crowded inefficiency." Yet California has had woman suffrage for six years.

THAT "SMALL GROUP"

THE conservative wing of the Suffragist army, the National American Woman Suffrage Association, through its Press Chairman, Ida Porter-Boyer, has given to the press of the country a formal statement, repudiating the Washington picketers. Explaining that it is the Woman's Party, formerly the Congressional Union, which is solely responsible for their spectacular lawlessness, Mrs. Porter Boyer concludes: "The main body of suffragists in the country is no more responsible for the erratic action of one small group than is the main body of orthodox church people for the actions of any peculiar and erratic sect."

It is unquestionably good policy for the National Association to make this statement. The indignation aroused by the "erratic action" of the picketers — to which most would give a stronger name — grows with each fresh proof of their reckless audacity. But will the Association be able to persuade the public that the Woman's Party is so small and insignificant a group?

It was this "small group" which sent the suffrage special whizzing through the Western States in the last Presidential campaign, its members honored by official welcomes from mayors and governors as they went.

It was one of the leaders of this "small group," Inez Milholland Boissevain, for whom was held the first memorial service for a woman ever held in the National Capitol.

A few individuals of this "small group," gathered hastily to express their indignation at President Wilson's answer to a delegation which waited upon him, were able in fifteen minutes to raise more than $3,000 to carry on their work.

This "small group" assembled in Washington last March nearly a thousand women, representing thirty-five states, and at a mass meeting in the National Theatre collected $51,000 in a few minutes.

For one day's picketing at the White House, this "small group" was able to bring together representatives of thirteen women's colleges.

To this "small group" are constantly seceding organizations formerly in sympathy with the National Association, like the Just Government League of Maryland.

This "small group," largely through the efforts of Miss Elsie Hill, one of the most conspicuous of the picketers, has organized, since March, state branches in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Rhode Island, Mississippi and Louisiana, and now claims state organizations in 46 States.

Summer conferences, with luncheons, out-door speaking and mass meetings were held by this "small group" in one week in cities as widely separated as Hartford, St. Paul and Richmond.

The Suffragist, the weekly paper published by this "small group" — whose circulation has more than doubled during the past year — prints in a single issue letters enthusiastically approving the picketing from officials of its party in New York, Colorado, Pennsylvania, California, Connecticut, Indiana, Massachusetts, New Jersey and Delaware.

A glance at the long list of members of its National Advisory Council should rid any one, once for all, of the idea that the Woman's Party is an insignificant, negligible group. Passing over the many names made familiar only by suffrage activities, and noting only those of independent reputation, we find Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr, Miss Crystal Eastman, Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst, Mrs. William Randolph Hearst, Mrs. Frederick C. Howe, Miss Fola La Follette, Mrs. William B. Lamar, Miss Hazel Mackaye, Mrs. Lionel Marks, Miss Julia Marlowe, Mrs. May Wright Sewall and Miss Grace Strachan.

In a recent number of The Suffragist appears a striking article by Lavinia Dock in justification of the picketing. It is called "The Young Are at the Gates." The younger women among the suffragists are, in fact, conspicuously identified with the Woman's Party. Its financial resources are increasing rapidly — its Treasurer reporting the receipts for 1916 as nearly equal to the total for the three previous years.

So far from being a "small group," the Woman's Party seems in a fair way to become "the main body of suffragists in the country." From its ranks would come the leaders and bosses if "votes for women" were won. By its "erratic action," in spite of all conservative protests, the suffrage movement of today must expect to be judged.

ENGLISHWOMEN do not manifest a passionate desire to take the share in local government work which existing laws give them. There are 2,509 county councils, borough councils, district councils, and poor law boards of guardians which are chosen by direct vote, and for which women vote and are eligible as members. But there are only 646, or 25.7 per cent. which have women members, and nearly three-quarters of these are poor law boards of guardians, whose work comes most within woman's normal activities. The little interest in local government shown by English women is certainly no argument for giving them the parliamentary franchise.

A CORRESPONDENT of the Boston Herald, in the issue of August 31, commenting upon the incident recorded elsewhere, in the paragraph headed "Pankhurst Patriotism," says very truly:

"While the English suffragettes were making this demonstration the American picketers were maligning their country and insulting the President by flaunting "Kaiser Wilson" banners at the White House. There is not much to choose between the two groups. Both are playing into the hands of the Germans. Both are traitors to their country. And both are counting upon immunity, as women, from punishments which would be swiftly visited upon them, if they were men."